2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

8 *local industry and trade:*

LIVESTOCK

231 There is relatively little livestock in Tepoztlán and most of it is of poor quality. [669] The Revolution of 1910–20 saw the destruction of practically all domestic animals in Tepoztlán, and present herds have been slowly and painfully acquired since then.[1] Tepoztecans, because of their experience during the Revolution, still view [454] investment in cattle as precarious, and they invest only as a steppingstone to the acquisition of land or as a secondary source of investment. It should be noted, [233] however, that cattle raising was never an important industry in Tepoztlán and never became well integrated in the local economy. Topographical conditions and climate in the municipio are not conducive to large-scale stock raising. The land is steep, rocky, and forested; the little level land is used for agriculture. During the dry season, which begins in December, pasture becomes progressively scarce and by March the cattle are excessively thin. In these months, herds are generally reduced by fifteen to twenty per cent.

The care given to cattle is minimal. For the most part, cattle graze on the communal lands and in the cornfields after the harvest. Only milk cows, plow-oxen, and pack mules and horses are given fodder, such as hay or sesame plants, poor corn, and sugar cane stalks brought by Tepoztecans who work on near-by haciendas. [232] Occasionally they are given salt to keep them "tame," and almost any disease or sign of ill health is treated with a mixture of vinegar, lemon, and *sal de nitro*. Hoof and mouth disease is treated with applications of iodine to the affected parts, a cure which Tepoztecans claim gives excellent results.

231 Care of animals in Tepoztlán consists mostly of guarding them against the 685 danger of being lost or stolen. A great deal of time is spent in watching livestock, irrespective of whether the family owns only one or two animals or a herd of thirty or forty. Cattle stealing is frequent and is one of the hazards of cattle raising. Some families have lost over twenty-five head of cattle in a few years. It is said

[1] Only a few families managed to escape with their animals to southern Guerrero.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

in household comforts. On the other hand, many of the older generation, even those with means, scorn innovations and prefer to live the way they have always lived, investing what surplus they have in land and cattle. The use of modern household equipment correlates more with age and education than with wealth. On the whole, we find modern equipment more frequently in the homes of families with a medium income. In the homes of the better-to-do there is almost always a greater quantity of household goods, whether primitive or modern.

Kitchen in poor home.

Fig. 38.

Kitchen in well-to-do home.

Wealthier families generally own enough plates, pots, glasses, spoons, chairs, etc., to be able to serve fiesta meals to a large number of people without having to borrow, as do so many other Tepoztecan families.

The four features mentioned by Redfield as being inevitably present in the Tepoztecan kitchen of 1926-27 are still found, though with some modifications.[8] (Fig. 38 illustrates the contrast between kitchens in a well-to-do and a poor home.) These features are the hearth, the griddle, the grinding stone, and the pot. Today

[8] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, p. 35.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

INVESTMENTS

511
231
454

The most common form of investment among rich and poor in Tepoztlán is the purchase of animals. In 1944, the investments of both families were as follows:

Family I	*Pesos*	*Family II*	*Pesos*
Purchase of cattle and other animals	670.00	Purchase of four pigs during year for 58. (Two died and two were sold for 52, resulting in a loss of 6.)	58.00
Animal feed	972.24	Purchase of two chickens	10.00
		Feed for chickens for two months	4.20
Total	1,642.24	Total	72.20

The above expenditures constitute 28 per cent of the total expenditures of Family I, and 7 per cent of those of Family II.

MISCELLANEOUS

511

	Family I (Pesos)		*Family II* (Pesos)
Plow	25.00		
5 Plow-scrapers	12.50		
Dishes, *comal*, clay pots	48.00		10.25
Barbershops:			
Father and son	20.40	Father	15.25
Daughter	8.50		
Stamps	25.00		
Gifts by daughter to friends	40.00		
Total	179.40	Total	25.50

The expenditures for miscellaneous items are 3 per cent of the total expenditures for both families.

SPENDING PATTERNS

511
556

The spending patterns, indicated in the annual expenditures of these two families, can be taken as typical for the socio-economic levels which they represent. Family I, like other acculturated families in the middle and upper groups, spends relatively large proportions of its income on items connected with comfort and health, such as food, household articles, house repair, doctors, and medicines. Expenditures for clothing, birthdays, and other fiestas celebrated within the home are also comparatively large, sometimes reaching the point of conspicuous consumption. Families of this type usually spend more than other families to educate their children. Expenditures for diversion and contributions to the church and other religious activities are proportionately small. Economic investments, which represent the largest and most important expenditure among the majority of well-to-do Tepoztecan families, is, in this acculturated family, little more than one-fourth of all expenditures.

511
735

Family II, like most poor families in Tepoztlán and, indeed, everywhere else,

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

familiarity, joking, ridicule, insult, or attack. Although the *Vd.-Vd* relationship also implies equality of status, it is by no means the same psychologically, since both parties extend reciprocal respect.

In the light of the individualism of Tepoztecans, a great deal of competition in inter-personal relations might be supposed. But this is not the case. Tepoztlán is not a competitive society.[1] Accordingly, a lack of strong drive and ambition for self-improvement and a lack of initiative and originality are notable. Most adults tend to be self-satisfied if they have enough food and clothing from harvest to harvest. Among the young people, too, there is a general acceptance of the way of life: young men wish to be farmers as their fathers are, and most young girls continue to work at home and serve their elders. The rewards they seek are not impossible of achievement: occasional new clothes, shoes, a sweetheart, freedom to attend fiestas, and ultimately to marry, with some parental help.

Most married adults find sufficient reward in their growing children, who by their obedience and labor little by little lighten the burden of the parents and give some promise of protection for their parents' old age. (See Fig. 51.) There is almost no pressure upon the parents by the children in the form of demands for material comforts or for independence. Even parents who do not provide minimum necessities for health and comfort, or who are lazy or who drink, do not lose their authoritative position or their right to respect. Few Tepoztecan parents feel inadequate or a failure for not providing well or advancing economically. Insubordination on the part of the children would have a far more shaking effect than chronic poverty upon parental esteem.

There is a relative absence of concern for the future. Only the minority, who recognize education as an important source of security, save in advance for the education of a son or daughter. It is among these families that self-denial in the present, in order to gain future reward, is encountered—a familiar pattern among the urban middle class. The rest of the population exercise general thrift, but it can best be characterized as spending when there is money and pulling in their belts when there is none. The absence of saving "for a rainy day" or for a "nest egg" is striking.

Young people planning marriage do not save in anticipation of their many needs; they marry at short notice, as soon as there is money to pay for the wedding, the money being supplied by the boy's parents from the sale of an animal, by borrowing, or sometimes by the boy's going to work for a few months until the money is raised. Again, when a child is expected, there is no saving in anticipation of its

[1] Though competition occurs in Tepoztlán it is generally between groups rather than between individuals and, for the most part, is limited to social rather than economic activities in which prestige rather than material gain is at stake.

It is interesting to note that in recent years the introduction of certain forms of competition has had disastrous effects. The violence, murder, and bitterness which have grown out of the new competitive enterprise, such as the two bus lines, and the inter-village competition in the communal forest resources for the commercial production of charcoal, suggest that Tepoztecans were quite unprepared for such innovations.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

Some Tepoztecans now have borrowed the customs of the city by having separate godparents for the giving of the hands (*padrino de mano*) and another pair of godparents for the nuptial Mass (*velación*), but most couples still follow the older custom of having only one set of godparents. In a few cases of highly acculturated families, the bride has a car waiting at the entrance of the church and the couple ride off for their honeymoon. Some informants expressed the opinion that the time is not far off when this custom will be widespread in Tepoztlán.

After the ceremony it is customary for the couple and the friends and relatives to return to the home of the *padrinos* where refreshments are served, and where the couple again receive marital advice from the godparents. At about noon the couple go to the groom's house. In the old days, it was usual for the couple to carry burning incense over the threshold, and I have seen this tradition carried out on two occasions. A dinner is given with *mole poblano* as the main dish. Many drinks are served, with beer taking the place of *ponche* in the more acculturated homes. After the festivities are over, the guests go home and the couple remain. Most couples do not sleep alone the first or subsequent nights because of crowded living conditions.

Church weddings are becoming increasingly costly, ranging from 300 to 1,000 pesos. Young people of both sexes look forward to having a fine church wedding. If the boy's parents approve of the girl, they will make a fine wedding, even if it means selling their animals or pawning their house. As one informant put it, "I exchanged my cows for a daughter-in-law." If parents are not willing or able to provide a suitable wedding, their son sometimes works and saves to do so himself. Saving for a wedding is much more common than saving to buy a team of oxen, a house, or something which will improve the boy's economic situation. The majority of Tepoztecan couples begin married life with little except their clothing and the satisfaction of having had a nice wedding.

BY FREE UNION

When a man and woman live together as husband and wife without either civil or church marriage, it is referred to as a free union (*unión libre*). The more acculturated Tepoztecans no longer regard this as a form of marriage. But there are many couples who have been living in free union for many years, and they are regarded as husband and wife by all concerned. The children of such marriages, if the parents record their birth in the local registry, have equal rights with other children in cases of legal disputes concerning property. During the days of the Revolution, when priests were unavailable and life was precarious, many people joined in free unions. But the existence of *uniones libres* cannot be explained simply as a phenomenon of the Revolution. Of the fifteen per cent of the couples living in free union in the village in 1940, about half of them were fairly young people, indicating that this type of marriage is not entirely going out.

An analysis of the free unions in the village reveals that the great number were second marriages for one or both of the spouses. In most cases the previous spouse

3:Lewis E-5 (1943-1957) 1960
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

177 464 167 [463] fewer than thirty Tepoztecans were *braceros*—that is, temporary agricultural workers in the United States; by 1957, over six hundred men had been *braceros* for periods that varied from forty-five days to over a year. This occupational change has made for other great changes in the village. In 1943, Tepoztlán suffered from an acute land shortage. Now, because in many cases the *braceros* return to the village only to rest a few months before setting out for another period in the United States, it suffers from a shortage of manpower, and many [433] *milpas* go unculivated. The *braceros* earn more in some months in the United [434] States than they could earn in almost two years in the village, and many of them have invested their savings in improvements for their houses and in [454] land and cattle. Many have brought home portable radios, mechanical toys, [294] clothing, and cloth—the village now has four full-time tailors who are kept busy providing tailor-made pants for the villagers. Although the *bracero* movement has broadened the perspective of some Tepoztecans, who now greet [186] American visitors with a few words of English, most of the *braceros* are isolated in work camps or on farms, speak no English, live on a Mexican diet, and on the whole learn little about the United States and its way of life. Very few learn agricultural skills that can be applied in the village.

[556] Most of the *braceros* from Tepoztlán are young men between the ages of twenty and thirty. They come predominantly from the upper segments of the lower economic group (Group I) but also from the middle group II (see p. 37). Few come from the poorest families and fewer from the wealthier families of Group III. This is an interesting change from the pattern in the early forties when only individuals with political connections and with experience outside of the village became *braceros*. At that time most Tepoztecans feared [186] to leave the village for a distant country or even to go to the government recruiting stations for *braceros* in Mexico City. With more education, the younger generation developed a greater readiness to explore the outside world and to dare the hazards of a long journey. The sudden spurt in *bracerismo* did not occur, however, until a school teacher in one of the outlying villages became [875] a *bracero* recruiter (locally called *coyote*). He had been a *bracero* himself and knew how to make the necessary legal arrangements. Tepoztecan men paid him a fee in the hope that he would get them longer contracts and also jobs in California rather than in Texas or Arkansas. The fees, which the *coyote* purportedly shared with government authorities, ranged from 200 to 400 pesos depending on the length of time of work specified in the contract. Most of the [426] villagers who signed up had to borrow from local money lenders at the usual high rate of interest but they had avoided having to deal directly with the authorities and so had found the courage to take the initial step.

[433] [648] The *bracero* movement has served as a partial though temporary solution of the agrarian problem in the village. Tepoztlán has become dependent on the United States economy. Were the United States suddenly to close its borders to Mexican *braceros*, there would probably be a crisis both in the village and in the nation.

177 425 Another important change in Tepoztecans is their greater readiness to sell their land. In 1943, it was difficult to find anyone in the village who would consider selling a housesite or an agricultural plot. For example, in 1942 a